[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

grity cannot be forced on people. A climate has to be created in which this can be assimilated in a natural process.

6.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Gopalsamy, you can continue next time.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I just want to know—and I think Mr. Chidambaram will tell me on this—whether the Tamil language can only be spoken in shouting voice. This was a jarring note being played. In Rajya Sabha it should be a melodious voice.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That depends on the issue. May I continue?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No. You can continue next time. Mr. Natwar Singh is to make a statement.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

REGARDING THE DECISION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES TO BAN 17 ANTI-APARTHEID GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH): I rise to express on behalf of the entire membership of this House and the Government and people of India our deep sense of outrage and dismay at the decision of the South African fairs condemning of the South African authorities to ban all activities of 17 anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa which we unreservedly condemn. The denial of the right to engage even in peaceful protest against the abhorrent system of apartheid is not only another vicious assault on liberty in South Africa, but also a clear demonstration that the draconian measures in force under the state of emergency have totally failed to extinguish the flame of nationalism and the spirit of defiance on the part of the brutally oppressed masses of South Africa. The time has surely come for the international community to address itself in all earnestness to the urgent challenge of dismantling apartheid by all available means. In this hour of trial the Government and people of India reiterate their firm and unequivocal support for the valiant struggle of the oppressed masses of South Africa to undo apartheid and to establish a democratic policy in that country.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): I fully support this statement of the Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs condemning of the South African decision to ban 17 anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa. We are really very unhappy that still the racist Government in South Africa is continuing with its illegal racist and unhumanitarian activities on that soil.

In fact, the South African Government has suppressed the majority rights of the South African people and it is still running a White minority Government against the wishes of the whole humanity. We are proud that the nations of the world, including India, are wholly in support of the African people struggle against apartheid being continued in South Africa. We fully aassociate ourselves against apartheid and we must take every step to see that these illegal and evil designs of the South African Government should not continue and should not succeed. India must take all necessary steps to mobilise the world public opinion and call, if necessary, a meeting of the non-aligned nations and other Commonwealth nations to see that South Africa puts an end to this policy of banning 17 anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa.

I would like to have an assurance from the Minister whether the Government of India will take a lead in

organising a public opinion and convening meeting of the non-aligned countries to build the world opinion against this policy of South African Government.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): I join the hon. Minister in expressing my severe condemnation against the atrocious activities of the Government of the Whites in South Africa in banning 17 apartheid organisations in that country. I also take this opportunity to express our solidarity with the people of South Africa, who are heroically battling and waging a war against the system itself, despite heaviest of odds. The Government of India is committed to take all measures to dismantle the system of apartheid. Non-aligned nations have also expressed themselves without equivocation against this system. But what I ask the hon. Minister to remember is that it is because of certain countries particularly the United States of America that the South African rulers are being able to continue their system of apartheid. Any mild attitude or any compromising attitude towards the role of the U.S.A. and also the United Kingdom cannot do real service to the people of South Africa. We are fighting against this system. May I, in this connection like to know from the hon. Minister whether he does agree with me that unless the world opinion is organised and the Government of India takes a firm position on this issue against the policy pursued by the United States and the United Kingdom, the Government of India cannot fulfil its commitment? Merely condemnation or merely some attempts at mobilising international opinion is not going to make our efforts successful. The main point is: What would be our attitude towards the United States and the United Kingdom? May I know from the hon. Minister whether he will take a firm position against these Governments and also seek cooperation of other socialist and other non-aligned countries and see that these two countries are forced to revise their position? Then and then alone we will be able to fulfil our commitment. So far as the demands of the people of South Africa are concerned, only through concerted efforts by isolating the United States of America and the United Kingdom, we can fulfil our commitment. I want to know, what specific steps in these strained circumstances, the Government of India proposes to take.

There was a Committee on Africa Fund especially for the purpose of extending our help and aid to the South African people and it seems that has also not yielded much result. I want to know what action the Government proposes to take in this regard. I do not know what has been the result of the actions so far taken by the Government of India. Merely a condemnation is not going to yield result. Would the Government be firm and pursue an integrated policy and comprehensive policy so that we can fulfil our commitment? Thank you.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मंत्री जी ने जो वक्तव्य दिया है और जिसके द्वारा अफ्रीका के अधिकारियों ने 17 जाति विरोधी संगठन पर प्रतिबंध लगाया है उसके लिए भारत सरकार की ओर से क्षोभ व्यक्त किया गया है । इसका तो मैं समर्थन करता हूं, लेकिन मुझे यह बात समझ में नहीं आ रही है कि मंत्रीजी ने घोर निराशा क्यों व्यक्त की ? दक्षिण अफ्रीका के जो साहसी लोग हैं वे अपने मानव अधिकारों की लड़ायी लड़ रहे हैं और उनके साथ भारत की जनता का पूरा सहयोग है । हमारा समर्थन उनके साथ है । माननीय सभापति जी, आप जानते हैं कि जातीय आधार पर दक्षिण अफ्रीका या वहां के प्राधिकारियों ने जो प्रतिबंध लगाया है, इसका न केवल विरोध करना चाहिए बल्कि इसके लिए भारत सरकार को और भी उचित और कड़े कदम उठाने चाहिए ।

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय]

श्रीमन्, आप जानते हैं कि वे लोग अपने अधिकारों की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं और एक प्रकार से लोकतांत्रिक सरकार स्थापित करने के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे हैं। आज उनके लोकतांत्रिक अधिकारों से उनके संगठन को प्रतिबंधित किया जा रहा है और उसको समाप्त करने की कोशिश की गई है। इसलिए मेरी भारत सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि वह केवल निराशा ही न व्यक्त करे, बल्कि कुछ कड़े कदम या ऐक्शन भी ले। मंत्री जी जब स्पष्टीकरण दें तो यह भी बतलाने की कोशिश करें सदन को कि क्या क्या और कदम भारत सरकार इस संबंध में उठाने जा रही है।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I join the House along with the hon. Minister to condemn the action taken by the minority Pretoria regime in banning the 17 political parties which are carrying on the anti-apartheid movement for getting their democratic rights in South Africa. We are fortunate. The Father of the Nation, Mahatama Gandhi had the vision of independence movement in South Africa and he came to India and worked hard for the purpose of getting freedom for India but still the people of South Africa are not able to get freedom because of the oppression and suppression by the minority regime of South Africa. We made our stand very clear when our hon. Prime Minister first announced that Indian Government will cut off all relationships with South Africa unless the apartheid matter is settled. Sir, our Government has first pronounced total sanctions against South Africa. It was followed by various countries. Therefore, it is very clear that it is our Government which paved the way for giving full support to the anti-apartheid people of South Africa and in fact, the Pretoria regime is trying to rule South Africa with gun. I think that India is mobilising support not only among the Asian countries but also throughout the world. Whichever international conference our hon. Prime Minister addresses, the views of the Indian Government have been expressed by him showing to the world that India is inclined to get freedom for South African people and he very much tells all the countries that they have to support the people of South Africa to get their freedom. Apart from that, the Pretoria regime, as the hon. Member has said, with the support of the United States and the United Kingdom is trying to suppress the people and this is a last attempt made by them to ban the political movement there so that the resistance is completely eliminated from South Africa. Therefore, Sir, apart from showing our concern, we should also mobilise the international opinion. Also our concern should be conveyed to the minority regime that the international opinion is such and they should bow to it. We should tell them, here is the mandate of the people and the people's will has to be accepted by them. Then alone the minority regime will realise that they will have to bow before the majority will of the people of South Africa.

Secondly, I would like to know from the hon. Minister even in the Commonwealth discussions were held and what was the decision taken apart from Africa fund? What was the decision taken for the purpose of meeting the challenge posed by the minority regime against the South African people? Thank you.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with due respect to the hon. Minister of State for External Affairs, whom I hold in high personnel esteem, his statement is a perfect example of conducting foreign policy through statements alone. Our objection is not, and cannot be, to the contents of the statement. Surely, even the treasury benches would not charge us in the Opposition as supporters of that obscenity which is apartheid. Our principal difficulty, Sir, is with the methodology that the Government adopts. Secondly, it is the timing. Now, I feel, Statements of this nature do convey an impression, which a number of other speakers, in different forms, have pointed out, that all this is tantamount to reducing the anti-

apartheid action to the level of a competitive virulence of rhetoric only. That is the principal objection. So far as our objection to the timing of *it is concerned, we witnessed it in the* last Session and we witness the same manifestation now too. This, statement issuing is tantamount to a fragmented discussion of foreign policy. I am glad that the hon. Minister has *suo moto* taken the opportunity to come forward with a statement. But why today? When were the 17 groups banned? When were they actually banned? Why has the Minister chosen today at 5 O' clock in Parliament to make the statement? It also denies us an opportunity to comprehensively discuss the direction, and the conduct of this Government's foreign policy. When we examine the *suo moto* statement itself, the language, of course, is elegant anger, but that is all that is there in it. There are three questions. (a) What are we going to do so far as anti-apartheid action is concerned? (b) What is the future of sanctions—the Minister knows what I am talking about—mandatory, comprehensive, universal economic sanctions? What is the outcome for the last so many years? In this very House, we have exchanged statements and comments on this very subject. What has been achieved? (c) What is the fate and the current status of the Africa Fund for which, the hon. Minister of State knows, his erstwhile colleague in the Ministry, Shri Eduardo Faleiro, worked so much over-time. Thereafter, what about the role of the front-line States? With what limited information I have on the subject, I am inclined to believe that the front-line States are not given to seeing the subject as we are. How then are you going to fight this whole question of apartheid or of that obscenity as I call it. Then Sir, what about the current impasse within the Commonwealth which is quite often and routinely, whenver the Prime Minister attends a Session of it, put across to us as yet another feather in the Prime Minister's successful cap of foreign policy management? What, thereafter, about the now somewhat defunct—but attempts to revive it are being made—group called the Eminent Persons' Group comprising, no doubt, of elder statesmen but some of them are more elderly than statesmen, still, nevertheless, the Eminent Persons' Group? Where is that group? This is the principal difficulty. Of course, the Minister does not have the time. I have another motion which is already 20 minutes late. The Government comes forward with this statement at 5 O' clock and we have to discuss as important an issue as apartheid. How? By clarifications. It is not possible. I do not even expect—it will be unjust to expect—of the Minister detailed answers to all these. Nevertheless, this is our difficulty. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I strongly associate myself with the feelings of the Government and the people of India and the deep sense of outrage and dismay at the decision of the South African authorities to ban all activities of 17 anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa which should be unreservedly condemned. This House is aware, the whole country is aware, when we got independence, the founding father of the nation, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said our independence was incomplete unless South Africa became free. The very rootes of our freedom movement started in South Africa. Mahatma Gandhi started our movement there, as my friend has pointed out. I would like to associate myself with the deep feelings of our most able Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Natwar Singh, and say that under the ablest leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and today under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, India has always stood behind the very sound voice of the common people of South Africa for their independence, in their fight against apartheid. We had the convention several times and we feel, the common man of this country feels, sorry for the South African people who were suffering and who are suffering still,

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav]

as we had suffered before our independence, slavery under the Western powers. It is a known secret that the Western Bloc, particularly the United States of America, indirectly supports the illegal Pretoria regime of South Africa. It is very essential to create awareness among the people of these big countries that there should be no slavery anywhere of any people in any corner of the world.

The other thing I wanted to ask of the Minister is I have read in the newspapers that Gandhji's grandson and his wife were to attend the Republic Day Parade in India but the South African Government had not given them the requisite visa. How did this happen and what action has the Government of India taken on that?

Then, what would be the attitude of the United Nations Organisation? In what way are they going to intervene? I know so many countries have proposed sanctions against South Africa and so many countries have taken so many steps. But there seems to be no impact of these efforts or of these measures on South Africa. Are we going to ask the United Nations and its various agencies what they propose doing so that the people of South Africa become free? It is very astounding that Mr. Nelson Mondela is languishing in jail for more than 24 years. When will his country be free? What action is the Government of India going to take to arouse world opinion, to make the people of the world conscious of the happenings in South Africa? With these words I conclude.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to the honourable Members who have supported the sentiments expressed in the statement that I have made now. Now I will take up the points made by various Members, particularly by Jaswant Singhji who said that this is conducting foreign policy through statements alone and in instalments. The reason why I have made the statement today is that the 17 organisations were banned the day before yesterday afternoon and we were in touch with the Commonwealth Secretariat and with the Foreign Minister of Canada who is the Chairman of the Committee of Eight Foreign Ministers set up by the Vancouver Summit in October last year. India is a member of it and I represent India on that Committee. This Committee met in Lusaka on the 1st and 2nd of this month specifically to discuss the question of sanctions against South Africa, as to how we are to stop the happenings there. I share the sentiments of Shri Chitta Basu. He said that certain countries, USA and UK—and I will also add FRG and Japan—are the prominent countries which are carrying on trade and also France, they are involved in the supply of military equipment regardless of the UN Security Council Resolution. Now, it has been asked as to what we have been doing apart from making statements. Jaswant Singhji should know that as far as apartheid is concerned, as far as South Africa is concerned, our record is second to none. We broke off diplomatic relations in 1954 and we broke off commercial relations about that time also. We had eight per cent of our foreign trade with South Africa. We broke off this at considerable sacrifice to this country. I do not know if any other country has a similar record.

Now, he mentioned about the AFRICA Fund. The AFRICA Fund, of which the Prime Minister is the Chairman, we have over 250 million dollars, both in cash and kind, promised to us. The Committee of the AFRICA Fund has been constantly meeting and we have been in touch with the Frontline States and working out what practical measures we could take to ensure that at least

their security installations are not destroyed or damaged. The Front-line States have certain special problems. Most of their trade is through South Africa. We want to see to it that the ports in Angola and Mozambique are repared and are in fit condition to take on this trade which now goes through South Africa. But it will take a long time. We are taking practical steps to help them in the communications, in their railways. It is not only India; but a number of other countries also are doing it.

The honourable Member also mentioned the Eminent Persons' Group. The Report of the Eminent Persons' Group, on which India was represented by Sardar Swaran Singh, was discussed at the Vancouver Summit and the Group was not revived. Instead an 8 member Foreign Ministers Committee was appointed. The eight members of this Committee are the Foreign Ministers of Australia, Canada, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Foreign Minister, Mr. Joe Clark, is making a statement, I think, on the same lines, but in more detail on behalf of this Committee at 3 clock this afternoon, Ottawa time, and I have the text of it and he has been in touch with all of us. We are in touch with what is happening in South Africa. Regarding information available the difficulty is that imposition of censorship last March has driven South Africa out of the front pages of newspapers and television screens and one of the items that was proposed by the Prime Minister of India at the Vancouver Summit was that we should take up this question and impress upon South Africa and the whole of the world community that censorship must be lifted. Here we had the unanimous support in the Conference. The Prime Minister discussed it in Vancouver and he discussed it when he was in Washington the Americans and they all came along with us on censorship. There was unanimity at the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Lusaka this month. We devoted much of our time and schedule to discussing how to break this barrier of communication or, what one could call, the 'iron curtain' on information. Unless intormation comes out from South Africa, it is very difficult to create the kind of public opinion which was being created in 1985-86 till March 1987. As we know, the Vietnam war was won or lost, on the TV screens. We want that events in Southern Africa should come on the T.V. and we are doing our best in co-operation with other countries. We strongly feel stoutly about it and we have the support of a very large number of non-aligned countries and also the Commonwealth countries with the possible exception of the UK. On censorship they too have come along with us.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Are you going to convene a meeting of the non-aligned countries or the Commonwealth countries?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: I am just coming to that. There is a very important committee called the Apartheid Committee of the UN which, would be meeting or it is already meeting today. It is presided over by the very eminent representative Nigeria, the former Foreign Minister, Mr. Gorba. This Committee—we are a member of this Committee—meets in New York and if it is felt necessary in the UN, by the Members of the Security Council, that the Council may be called, it will certainly be called. And we will certainly participate, although we are not members of the Security Council during these last two or three years. I am grateful to the hon. Members. And this is not a matter in which one needs to score any debating points. It is a policy

[Shri K. Natwar Singh]

which we have condemned since the days Gandhiji went there in 1893 and stayed there for 21 years till 1914. With great respect I have to say that we have not counted the cost on a matter of this kind. It is a fundamental matter. We are totally opposed to any kind of racism in any part of the World, whether it is black, white, brown or yellow. We are totally opposed to what is happening in South Africa, and I am grateful for the support the Members of the House have given.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): What about the Africa Fund progress?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Well, I do not have the details. But I all can say is that the response, both from the non-aligned and from other countries has been very encouraging. We are trying to tap as many sources as we can. Unless this is a fund of a very large amount of money—I can off-hand say that unless it reaches something like one billion—we will not be able to make a dent we would like to make. We have got about 250 to 300 millions in cash and kind.

MOTION FOR MODIFICATION IN THE TERRORIST AND DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES (PREVENTION) RULES, 1987

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Sir, I beg to move the following Motion:

"That this House resolves that in pursuance of section 20 of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987, the following modifications be made in the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Rules, 1987, published in the Gazette of India (Extraordinary), dated the 7th October, 1987, vide Notification G.S.R. No. 843(E), and laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 6th November, 1987, namely:—

substitute sub-rule (1) of rule 15 by the following.—

'15. Recording of confession made to police officers:—(1) A confession made by a person before a police officer and recorded by such a police officer under section 15 of the Act, shall invariably by recorded in the presence of Chief Metropolitan Magistrate or a Chief Judicial Magistrate, having jurisdiction over the area in which such a confession has been recorded. It shall be in the language in which such a confession is made and if that is not practicable, in the language used by the police officer for official purposes, or in the language of the designated Court, and it shall form part of the record; and

that this House recommends to Lok Sabha that Lok Sabha do concur in this Resolution."

Sir, the motion of amendment that I have moved is under the Rules of this House, the right which all of us have, the right which flows out of the legislative rights of the House. It arises in the enactment itself. We had voiced our difficulties at the time of the enactment now, because we continue to be dissatisfied with both the enactment and all the assurances that the then Minister of State had then given us about taking into consideration some of the points and observations that we had made about specific provisions in that piece of legislation and their not having been taken into account has persuaded me to move this amendment.

On January 25, speaking informally to some reporters the Union Home Minister, hon. Buta Singhji attributed the sharply increased level of violence